1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
[602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
241 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
433 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
464 ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In
[434] that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 95.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing ma- [407] chine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, [426] and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes [427] owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fer- [262] tilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [231] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [442] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [256] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [442] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [435] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [433] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ownership became even more concentrated in the postwar period than in the pre-war period" (Klein, 1958:53). Large numbers of tenants and would-be tenants were in continuing competition for the land they needed to support their families. The competition, unfortunately, tended to put the tenants at the landlords' mercy and helped perpetuate the already unsatisfactory land tenure system.

Klein also points out that the "increased demand for food by urban dwellers and for rural land by farmers, resulted in the many abuses practiced by rural landowners becoming qualitatively worse and quantitatively more numerous than before. One of the notorious abuses was that of charging oppressively heavy rents" (1958:53). From "1945 through 1947, rents of 60 per cent and 70 per cent (of the annual main crop) became not uncommon in the more fertile and densely populated areas. In some areas the rent was 'ironclad' which meant that in the event of crop disaster or failure, the rent, determined as a percentage of the normal or expected yield was to be paid in full anyway" (Klein, 1958:53–54).

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The high rental rates in the moderately fertile Hsin Hsing village area seem to have been standardized according to the type and quality (grade) of the land being rented, and were, in addition, influenced by the relationship between the particular landlord and tenant. Hsin Hsing villagers imply that land rents before the Land Reform Reduction Law were no higher than they are today. Their most vivid memory is one of insecurity on the land rather than excessive rents. Many seem to have forgotten how bad the rent situation really was. Former landlords, however, admit almost nostalgically that land rents in this area were as high as 60 percent of the annual main crop. But the landlord paid all the taxes, and he and the tenant shared the expense of the fertilizer. The tenant paid all the labor costs.

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Everyone agrees that rent was generally paid in kind, seldom in money, and "the landlord, as a rule, charged the tenant a fixed amount of rice for paddy land regardless of how small a crop the tenant might raise or what crop he planted" (Chang, 1954:10–11). Nevertheless, if the tenant, through his own efforts, increased the production of his rented land, he usually had to pay a larger rent. There is no question that this greatly stifled the tenants' incentive to increase production. The payment of rent in kind—in rice for paddy land—meant that "In case the tenant planted crops other than rice, he had to sell his crops and buy rice from [the] market to meet the charge. The buying and selling of crops meant extra losses to the tenant" (Chang, 1954:11).

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There is no indication before 1949 in the Hsin Hsing area that the landlord collected rent in advance. Usually, he took 60 percent of the rent immediately after the first crop was harvested and the remaining

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1 ~

ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
People's Republic of China AF18
Taiwan AD6

redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
464 178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin; and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

*597 1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of
*562 the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The
*592 only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years
858 have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was trans-
178 ferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other
182 changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in retent years, it is obvious
that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

*597 In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular
*562 girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large
556 degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families
178 in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably
undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not
needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reason-
ably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female
child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a
girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her
natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition
of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the
village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their
female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely
to give away their daughters than another family. In the language
of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case
• [833] in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed
during the course of the last three or four decades, some families
have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the kʰ had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien.

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[494] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
433 and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
464 economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
571 cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
871 creased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
499 from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653 route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
31 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has al-
243 ways permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[177] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One [462] [857] [433] chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

433

324 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

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458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

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In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 according to the government, many of the tea plantations
433 are old and degenerate with only a few containing the
439 newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may
242 remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves
a 433 (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several
[242] years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 In contrast with rice production which is primarily
462 a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 a 433 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising [m] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 .433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertiliser in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared. 245 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will 433 produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production 245 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases 242 and insects have only become problems since the increased [494] amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
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474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

245 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, 245 a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not 465 462 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who 245 462 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative [464] is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talai women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 245 There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
657 was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
648 the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai-
[464] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.